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ORGANIZATIONAL DYNAMICS
A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF TWO EGYPTIAN INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

S. El-Hussaini

Summary :

This study purports to show, empirically, the dynamics of two different Egyptian industrial organizations. Conflict, change and power relationships were studied. We relied on participant observation, documents and files, and interviews. The findings of this study are relevant to organizational theory in three ways. First, it is a contribution to the growing literature which deals with organizations in different cultures and periods. Secondly, it is a sociological attempt to relate organizational dynamics to large-scale socio-economic change. Thirdly, it is a methodological attempt to utilize the advantages inherent in the specifically-oriented case study method and extensive comparative approach.

1. The Problem

Much of the organizational analysis carried out during the last three decades stems from the structural-functional approach which emphasizes the integrative and harmonic aspects of organizations. Even when this analysis draws attention to conflict and power relationships, it still stresses the integrative pattern of organizations. There is, perhaps, some ideological reasons behind the neglect of genuine conflicts and the problems of distribution of power within modern organizations. The reason why most of the structural-functionalists ignore these aspects of organizational reality stem mainly from their one-sided preoccupations with "systematic" analysis. The latter is directed towards viewing organizations as functioning harmoniously. That is, they perceive these

* Lecturer, Ain Shams University, Cairo, Egypt, and the Faculty of Education in Qatar.

organizations as entities which already contain all the needed elements to ensure conformity and discipline. The emphasis upon the integrative aspects of organizations creates, in fact, some difficulties in understanding the other face of relationships). This emphasis reflects an organic and positivistic view which conceives of society as a coherent whole composed of parts, each of which serves a specific function. This view, I believe, rests upon ideological persuasions concerned with the justification of the status quo.

In the current literature on organizations, there is a growing tendency towards explaining organizational reality in clear psychological terms. This tendency is, in fact, a sort of reductionism, and is, therefore, negation of a sociological (i.e., historical-structural) explanation of the dynamics of organizations. Conflict in organizations, according to this approach, is a "pathological" state which can be "cured" through adequate communication and better incentives.

Reviewing the current enormous empirical research on organizations, one major shortcoming appears. That is, much of this research ignores the cultural and historical contexts within which contemporary organizations operate. With very few exceptions, much of this current empirical research lacks reference to the relation between organization as a social unit and the larger society and culture within which it is situated.

Nevertheless, current literature on organizations contains many worthwhile attempts dealing with organizations from a wider perspective. In a compelling analysis, KRUPP shows how organizational change follows changes in the available resources of groups. This sort of change, according to KRUPP, affects the relative power of the competing groups. Although he accepts the idea that the individual's acceptance of organizational goals may reflect organizational effectiveness, yet KRUPP states that this acceptance will embody, in the long run, the authority structure. Consequently, if organizational effectiveness means achieving some organizational goals, this achievement, from the viewpoint of the individual, means subordination and conformity.

In an empirical study of six American industrial organizations, DALTON shows, as a participant observer, the conflicts between the different groups and their struggle for attaining power and obtaining higher degrees of rewards. The importance of this study lies in DALTON's ability to highlight the political activities in organization, especially

those of latent nature. Throughout his analysis. DALTON is keen on discovering the vested interests of the various groups and their continous endeavor to legitimate them; even when they are in conflict or inconsistent with organizational goals.

Similarly, starting from power relations and conflict, CROZIER argues, in a comparative analysis of two French organizations, that understanding organizational structure requires a parallel understanding of power relations among various groups together with historical and cultural analysis of the context which brought these into being.

In a different manner, but along the same line, SAYLES suggests that studying different atiitldes toward work is, perhaps, more important than studying similar attitudes toward it. SAYLES then develops a "theory" on the behaviour of working groups. He argues that bargaining, conflict of goals, and distribution of power among individuals are all crucial elements in understanding working groups.

In the three empirical attempts mentioned above, aspects of conflict, change and power relationships are conceived as essential aspects of organizations. Apart from the ideological orientations underlying these attempts, one could argue that they provide valuable and important findings for the study of organizations.

Classical issues raised by MARK, WEBER and MICHELS in their studies on social organizations seem useful, if not crucial, in understanding modern organizations. Analytical concepts like alienation, class consciousness, freedom, initiative, oligarchy could, if used as elements of a broader theoretical framework, help sociologists in understanding organizations from a wider perspective. Unfortunately, studies adopting these analytical concepts are relatively rare. An outstanding example in this respect, in BLAUNER's study of alienation experienced by American industrial workers. Overlooking few limitations, one could argue that BLAUNER has successfully shown how broad analytical concepts, like the Marxist concept of "alienation", are of great importance and value.

The valuable elements in the above-mentioned studies relate to their use of a perspective which incorporates conflict, change and power relationships in the understanding of organizations. These studies have also demonstrated how modern organizations are affected by strategies and tactics adopted by various groups with their own specific interests.

Taking into consideration the nature and types of current research on organizations, the present study is an attempt to understand, from a wider perspective, the dynamics of two Egyptian industrial organizations. This study will attempt to relate organizational dynamics to structural and historical conditions within which the two Egyptian firms operate. The underlying assumption is that organizations are not self-contained entities. That is, organizations are social units operating in structural and cultural contexts which affect their internal dynamics.

II Methodology

Organizational dynamics are studied through comparative analysis of two dissimilar firms. This analysis attempts to utilize two widely used research methods in the study of organizations, i.e., "case study" and "comparative approach". This attempt is based on the assumption that one can combine deeper analysis provided by "case studies" with the wider perspective that can emerge from the use of the "intensive comparative approach". This requires, however, a careful choice of organizations for study. That is, organizations which are chosen for research must be, as far as possible, "typical" ones, The fact that current literature on organizations is still far from unanimous on a specific typology of organizations does not mean that comparisons of a limited nature are impracticable.

The comparison carried out in this study is between two different types of Egyptian industrial organizations. The choice was determined by the following criteria : type of activity, size of enterprise and degree of autonomy. Accordingly, two different organizations seemed to display meaningful contrasts. One is relatively old (25 years old), large (i.e., has over 5,000 employees), relatively autonomous , and is engaged in a conventional industry (cotton textile). The other is relatively modern (7 years old), small, (i.e., 1,200 employees), largely dependent on outside central management for its main decisions, and is engaged in a modern industrial activity (the manufacture of fridges and airconditioning equipment).

Comparisons are undertaken at two levels: internal and external. Comparisons between the internal workings of the two organizations was necessary for understanding the specific nature of each organization. External comparisons, on the other hand, were required for delineating the similarities and differences between the two firms. The two levels of

comparisons were to be further sharpened by analysis of respective departmental, organizational and societal features.

Data were collected through direct observation, study of documents and files, conducting interviews and through a designed "index" for studying structural attributes of organization. The direct observation was mainly used for constructing a picture of daily activities and official and informal aspects of organization. This technique proved helpful in understanding confllict and change — essential research targets of our study. Documents and files proved especially useful in the study of some organizational characteristics such as formalization, centralization and standardization. The interview schedule, which contains 137 questions covering a wide range of organizational issues, was administered to a representative sample of both firms (120 from the "modern" firm and 150 from the "older" one).

The following dimensions were covered by the interview items: control, communication, equilibrium, integration, conflict, change, goals and dysfunctions. Validity and reliability tests were undertaken to check its adequacy. The two samples were stratified-random, i.e. randomly selected from respective income categories. The two samples were representative of their respective universes with regard to known variables (age, sex education, etc.). Statistical analysis was carried out according to the types of comparisons mentioned above. The "index" of structural attributes of organization was designed to secure information of diferent nature, e.g., size of organization as measured by different criteria, main historical structural changes, presence of "performance criteria" filing, etc.

III Findings

The study shows that organizational dynamics are mainly determined by the ideological framework in which the two firms are operating. This framework rests upon the "principle" of the alliance of "Working People Forces". The principle means that contradictory class interests can and should be resolved peacefully. This "alliance',, according to the official ideology of the state is "functional" since it assumes that such an "alliance" can ensure the legitimate interests of all "non-parasite" classes in society.

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in 1961. As a result, an enormous public sector came into being. Nationalization involved the introduction of new legislations (eg., ensuring some democratic practices for industrial workers and recognizing the right of employees to share in the profits of industrial enterprises). However, no radical changes did occur in the structure of organizations as a result of these measures, except in the type of ownership, i.e. state ownership instead of private ownership.

Taking into account the wider politico-economic context and the specific setting of both organizations, highlights the internal processes in both. In the "older" firm, top management adopted a "strategy" based on "absolute control." This strategy was, in fact, a result of certain specific events; one of these was the failure of the firm to achieve any profits in 1969. This event considerably worsened the situation between workers and management. The response of the management to this deteriorating relationship was to strengthen further its control. Thus, top management adopted a "tougher" policy to ensure compliance and to maintain conformity.

The organizational dynamics in this firm were largely determined by the managerial "strategy". Control was exercised through a bureaucratic structure with rules oriented to achieve conformity. The previous rules and regulations were from the viewpoint of management, incapable of achieving the necessary compliance especially in the productive units of the firm. As a result, the foreman (MOLAHEZK) tended to take a central place in its "strategy". His "span of control" became wider, and new relations between him and top management emerged. As far as communication is concerned, the foreman became the main link between workers and top management. The management regarded the hierarchical structure as an ideal condition for ensuring increased control. It used this structure to maintain a constant social distance between workers and upper managerial levels. Top management viewed the general problems of the firm (i.e., failure in achieving profits) in technical terms, i.e., the incapability of achieving the necessary productivity in its production branches, and the lack of coordination among different departments.

Conflict between workers on one hand and foremen, and top management leaders on the other, reached its peak in 1970, when workers organized a strike as a collective expression of rejecting the management policy. Top management, from the viewpoint of workers, was blamed

for the failure of the firm to achieve profits, and for the lack of democratic practices (which workers are theoretically entitled to since 1961). Representatices of workers were condemned by the rank-and-file as part of the Board of Dirctors mainly preoccupied with maintaining its own vested interests. Democratic practices have, actually, nothing to do with the type of "integration" (in the sense of the continuation of the structure and authority relations within) this firm has. Instead "normative" elements (i.e. religious and moral) provided the necessary legitimation and rationalization for the maintenance of the status quo.

Conflicts were mainly resolved by top management through the application of bureaucratic rules which were highly formalized since the industrial activity of the firm was relatively old. The attitudes of workers toward existing rules showed a sort of ambivalence; that is, these were considered on the one hand to be fairly institutionalized and systematized and, on the other hand as incapable of securing their rights. Whatever the nature and types of conflicts, top management tended always to interpret these as evidence of the need for the enactment of new rules or for the enforcement of the old ones.

Organizational change in this firm was, thus, largely determined by the "strategy" of top management of rejecting changes of any kind and perpetuating existing conditions so as to enable it to face the grievances of workers. The static technological conditions favored the position of the management. This was so because the firm was engaged in industrial activities of traditional nature. The physical conditions of productive work were relatively worse than those found in other firms in the same industry.

As far as organizational goals were concerned, our evidence shows that conflicts among different groups were mainly responsible for the emergence of sub-goals reflecting different vested interests. Managers were seen as an "oligarchy" seeking further control of workers. Workers appeared as a defensive group trying to face and resist the management strategy, and to achieve their ultimate goal, i.e., replacing the existing top management by another one. Lower white collar workers (MOWA-DHAFEEN) adopted inconsistent attitudes. That is they were trying simultaneously to identify their interests with that of management and that of workers. They belonged in terms of work and status conditions to the former, but economically (or more specifically their market conditions) to the latter.

As a result of the political and economic conditions prevailing in this firm, the relationship between formen and their workers was, to use Parsonian language, "particularistic". That is, considerable favoritism was exhibited in these relationships. Bureaucratic rules were conceived by "bureaucrats" as an ideal expression of rationality and impersonality; a view which was not shared by the workers. Throughout a number of "free" interviews with some white collar workers, I gained a strong impression that this group was consciously equating respect for rules with respect to top management. Rules seemed, therefore, to be strictly applied, and the range given to discretion was consequently limited.

Let us turn to analyze the dynamics of the "younger" firm. Generally speaking, the firm was basically run on a specific managerial "ideology"; an ideology which is based upon maintaining and keeping "peace" among different classes and "status-groups", and creating a collective sense of solidarity. This ideology, which is adhered to by top management is, in fact, a by-product of various political, economic and technological pressures which management had encountered. Political pressures arose out of the fact that the factory was regarded as a productive unit run by a local management which, in turn, belonged to a big enterprise with an autocratic Board of Directors. Economic-technological pressures arose from the fact of being completely dependent in most of its activities on foreign sources for equipment, innovations, marketing etc. Throught out its history, the firm had faced another type of pressure which was of a pure technological nature. During this period, the firm had to undergo successive technological changes. In order to cope with these changes, local management had to face many obstacles; one of these is the inability of workers to adjust themselves to the ongoing technological changes. Many solutions were undertaken: providing enough training, adopting new recruitment policies, etc.

Organizational dynamics were, therfore, and to a great extent, a direct reflection of the managerial "ideology". To achieve simultaneously organizational goals and its own goals, local management was strongly preoccupied with lessening and minimizing the formalistic type of bureaucratic rules and adopting particular means of control, i.e., persuasion rather than coercion. Nevertheless, the above-mentioned pressures imposed on top management creatd a situation in which the latter found itself strongly preoccupied with the adequacy and fitness of bureaucratic rules.

20.

Organizational stability was mainly achieved through managers' struggle for an integrative and harmonious type of relationship based on personal communication. Managers conceived of these relationships as the most instrumental of facing the above-mentioned pressures. Our evidence shows a considerable awareness among managers of the ongoing changes which were a real threat to organizational stability. It also shows a clear managerial stress on the idea of the "impartiality" in the foremen-workers relationships, and a struggle for transforming the bureaucratic authority into a technocratic one.

Democratic practices, nevertheless, have nothing to do with the stability prerequisite. Industrial "democracy"in this firm, like that of the older one, ceased to be functional. Representatives of workers on the Board of Directors were likely to behave in a managerial way. However, these representatives were relatively mor active compared with their counterpart in the "older" firm. This means that although workers had a certain amount of power in the firm, the main decisions were still in the hands of managers. As far as democracy is concerned, it seems that the foremen-workers meetings represent, in a way, the existence of a common will rather than being the result of formal democratic practices (as had been hoped by the 1961 Socialist Acts).

Organizational change was largely determined, in its source and intensity, by external and internal pressures. Meanwhile, these pressures have had great influence on the whole organizational policy. That is to say, managers had to secure the availability of particular structural conditions, through which the firm could achieve its goals. The most outstanding example of this is, perhaps, the managerial policy to change its dependence from the Western to Socialist countries; and also during periods of shortages of raw materials. In periods of restricted production (which were mainly due to the lack of raw materials), managers were strongly preoccupied with persuading workers to compensate for these periods by woking free over-time during periods when raw materials were available. Technological changes were looked at by managers as an exceptional situation which necessitated the adoption of specific measures to secure adequate adaptation for workers to these technological innovations. Technological "alienation" was, nevertheless, inevitable during the periods of severe technological changes. Our evidence shows clearly that a

considerable proportion of workers had experienced what may be called a feeling of "uncertainty".

Considering organizational goals, there seems to be apparent consistency between official goals and the managerial "strategy". Starting from their strategy, managers were capable of persuading workers to identify with official goals. Managers conceived organizational goals as societal ones; a situation which makes it easy for them to relate their "ideology" to the official "ideology" of Egypt at large. The way the managers dealt with organizational goals had, in fact, specific repercussions on the structure of the firm. That is to say, sub-goals and vested interests tended to shrink. Our observations, however, tend to show the emergence of new subgoals, particularly in periods of successive technological changes. Over these periods workers and foremen did claim some economic rewards in return for the new technological burdens. Managers mediated these claims to the central management; and in so doing they were intentionally trying to avoid the emergence and formation of interest groups.

Concomitant with their conception of organizational goals, managers were strongly aware of the idea that official goals of efficiency cannot and should not be achieved without adopting a flexible managerial policy. This awareness was supported in different ways. As we have already mentioned, managers were preoccupided with the idea of the "impartiality" of bureaucratic rules, and the ways white collar workers apply it. Moreover, managers were conscious of the need for substituting old rules with new ones, once technological conditions change. Our evidence records two successful attempts by managers to introduce some radical changes in the rules, and rejected pressures from outside (i.e., Central Government) to recruit more employees on the managerial staff. Moreover, managers have remarkably succeeded in minimizing routine and resisting inflexibility organizational behavior, as well.

IV. Discussion :

According to our analysis, there have been two dissimilar types of organizational dynamics; both are mainly affected by particular structural conditions (i.e., internal and external). These structural conditions are, to a great extent, reflections of the whole structural changes which occur-

red over two decades. In different ways, the exchanges had produced the observable dynamics in our two organizations.

Much of the dynamics of the "older" firm are directly connected with the change in the ownership of the firm. Before nationalization, the firm was privately owned and run. Relationships between the owners and employees, on the one hand, and among the employees themselves on the other, were clearly defined and elaborated. Nationalization (i.e., state ownership) creates a traditional situation in which a state of "anomic" (i.e., ambiguous norms) emerges. The conflicts between managers and workers reflect, in a sense, disputes over the undefined and sometimes ambiguous — use of power. The "strategy" of managers is something more than merely decision-making. It means that they envisage themselves as the "primogenitors" of the firm who must hold absolute power. The workers' position shows a state of confusion. According to the new rules and regulations, they have had some rights in making the policy of the firm. In actuality, they did not feel they have an effective influence.

Class interests in this firm seem to play a dominant role, precisely because of the historical background of the firm. These class interests have developed and prevailed in the overall organizational pattern. In the sphere of control, there have been "rulers" and "ruled"; in the sphere of communication there have been those who "give" and those who "receive"; and in the sphere of goals, there have been contradicting sub-goals each reflecting particular vested interests.

The role of technology does not seem to have been of pivotal importance. The traditionalism of the industry together with its oldness have provided the firm with a considerable amount of "self-discipline". As a matter of fact, workers over their work histories in the factory, did not experience serious technological changes. The only objection they had about the work conditions was mainly related to the physical aspects for which they blamed the managers.

Industrial "democracy", in practice, seemed to be formal rather than real. Intentionally or unintentionally, it turned out to favor the strongest element (i.e., managers). It was intended to support the new state ownership system. This fact — together with the fact that workers had never sufficiently strived for realizing a "true democracy" — can shed some light on our observation of the inefficiency of democratic practices.

In the "younger" firm, although its dynamics were different in form from that of the older one, the fact still remains that both have something in common. That is, their internal processes are largely determined by external factors, e.g., societal, cultural, ideological, etc.

Nevertheless, the very specific structure of this firm seems to be an influential determinant of its processes. The firm was established as a part of an industrial movement which was intended to be one of the main achievements of socio-economic development in Egypt. Special attention was devoted by the Government to these growing industries. In this sense the firm was no more than a symbol of the Government's preoccupation with modernization.

As a matter of fact, much of the conflict and change this firm has witnessed can be explained in terms of the continuous societal changes. The pressures which the Central Management exerted on managers were, by and large, one of the negative consequences of the policy of centralization which was adopted since 1961. The economic and technological pressures could be understood in terms of the economic stress and the instability of the economic relations between the state and the foreign World Powers. Furthermore, a large part of technological pressures are due to the officials' belief that the Western type of industrial development is the "ideal" to follow and imitate.

In many cases, external pressures served some functions in different spheres of organizational activity. The harmonic aspects in the relationships of the different classes and status groups seemed to be a very resonant of these pressures. That is managers have found in the pressures, a favourable justification for claiming peaceful relations among different classes so as to face the technological and economic changes.

The successful attempts of the managers to suppress the conflicts between different classes and status - groups does not mean that managers have fully solved the inherent contradictions among these groups. Hidden conflicts, however, emerged in periods of technological changes. In dealing with these conflicts, managers felt that they will be in a strong position if they relate their ideology to the official ideology of the state.

It could be argued that the two firms were operating in a social, political and economic context which significantly differs from that of Western industrial organizations. Moreover, it can be claimed that

although economic, technological and political considerations played a central role in our firms, the nature of this role was largely determined by the specific conditions of the two firms. Classical issues raised by MARK, WEBER and MICHELS seem to be very useful in analyzing organizational reality. In fact, old organizational analysis is hardly possible unless a broad perspective is adopted. For instance, without delineating the general conditions through which the two firms are functioning, it is hardly possible to understand their internal dynamics.

One methodological note is worth emphasizing. By using the comparative approach together with other techniques, our empirical objectives were partly achieved. The method of participant observation helped us to penetrate and analyse some aspects of organizational reality. The "free" and "structured" interviews enabled us to obtain additional evidence about other aspects of the phenomenon as envisaged by different classes. Finally, the use of files and documents made possible the carrying out of comparisons between the formal and informal; between the legitimate and the illegitimate aspects. It is hard. without combining these techniques, to present comparative analysis of two different organizations existing in a country different from those which sociologists have traditionally studied, in formulating their theories and generalizations about organizations.

FOOTNOTES

1 — Of the well-known attempts which have applied the structural-functional approach on the study of organizations are: T. Parsons: Suggestions for a Sociological Approach to the Theory of Organizations. Administrative Science Quarterly. 1956, Vol. 1, 68-88, 225-239, P. Selznick: An Approach to a Theory of Bureaucracy. American Sociological Review, Vol. 13, 25-35; W. Bakke: Bonds of Organization: An Appraisal of Corporate Human Relations. Hamden/Connecticut 1946; R. K. Merton: Bureaucratic Structure and Personality. In: Reader in Bureaucracy, edited by R. K. Merton et al; Glencoe/Illinois 1952, 361-371.

2 — The integrative aspects of organizations are, perhaps, the main theme of the enormous empirical research on organizations which takes its central inspirations from the theoretical framework of structural-functionalism. See, for example, J. Roethlisberger and Dickson: Management and Worker. Massachusetts. Harvard. 1939; P. Selznick: TVA and the Grass Roots. Berkeley. California University Press, 1949; A. Gouldner: Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy. Glencoe, Illinois. Free Press, 1954. The stress upon integrative aspects of organizations is also easily shown in the works which reflect an interest in the relation between technology and other elements of organizations, i.e., socio-technical system. See G. Walker, R. Guest: The Man on the Assembly line Massachusetts. Harvard, 1952; J. Woodward: Management and Technology. London. H. M. S. O., 1958; F. Emery and E. Trist: The Causal Texture of Organisational Environments. Human Relations, 18, pp. 21-32; A. Rice: The Enterprise and Its Environment: A System Theory of Management Organization. London. Tavistock 1963; E. Miller and A. Rice: Systems of Organization: The Control of Task and Sentient Boundaries. London. Tavistock,1967.

3 — See, for instance, C. Argyris: Personality and Organization. New York. Harper, 1957; William F. Whyte: An Interaction Approach to the Theory of Organizations. In: M. Haire: Modern Organization Theory. New York. Wiley, 1955, pp. 155-183; A. Zaleznik et al: The Motivation, Productivity and Satisfaction of Workers.

Boston. Harvard, 1958; E. H. Schein: Organizational Psychology. Englewood Cliffs, N. J., Prentice-Hall, 1965; D. Katz and R. L. Khan: The Social Psychology of Organisations. New York.

4 — S. Krupp: Pattern in Organization Analysis: A Critical Examination Philadelphia. Chilton, 1961.

5 — M. Dalton: Men Who Manage. New York. Wiley, 1959.

6 — M. Crozier: The Bureaucratic Phenomenon. Chicago. University of Chicago Press. 1964.

7 — L. R. Sayles: Behaviour of Industrial Work Groups. New York. Wiley, 1958.

8 — See S. Avineri: The Social and Political Thought of Karl Marx. Cambridge University Press, 1968, pp. 48-54; and J. Calvez: La Pensee de Karl Marx. Paris 1956, pp. 41 ff.

9 — Max Weber : The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, tr. A. M. Henderson and T. Parsons. and ed. T. Parsons, Glencoe, Illinois; Free Press, 1947; and From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology. Ed. H. Gerth and C. Mills, Wright. Routledge + Paul Kegan. Ltd., London 1967, especially pp. 196-262.

10 — R. Michels: Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy. tr. by Eden and Paul Cedar and ed. by S. M. Lipset: The Free Press. New York 1962.

11 — This firm which is called "Nassr Company for Weaving and Spinning is run by a board of directors which has a wide range of freedom of action delegated to it by the "Spinning and Weaving Establishment." The latter is the administrative body which controls textile activities throughout the country.

12 — Actually, this firm is a productive unit which belongs to a large company (Delta Industrial Company) which runs, through its board of directors, three factories; one of these is the organization studied.

13 — The word "dysfunction" is used in Merton's sense to mean those factors which prevent or impede the organization from fulfilling its goal adequately.

14 — These categories were used on the ground that income is the most appropriate index which can reflect status groups. Moreover, it was one of the most objective and available criteria we had.

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15 — Employees, according to these legislations can get 25 per cent of total profits. The distribltion of profits depends on the economic status of the employee rather than his role in the process of production. The higher the occupational status, the higher the profits.

16 — The words "older" and "younger" are used for convenience and clarity of presentation.

17 — According to official statistical records, this firm is the only textile factory which failed in achieving profits. The fact that workers at this factory did receive the same amounts of bonus, like other workers in more successful firms, did not prevent them from expressing their disapproval of top management policy and demanding equality of treatment with the management.

18 — In addition to the overall conflict situation, evidence showed specific forms of conflict especially in the spheres of promotion and rewards. The evidence, however, does not support the assumption that there is an inevitable conflict between "staff" and "line", since "staff" has no real existence in the firm.

19 — Technological innovations were very few. Apart from very minor exceptions little change affected the means of production.

20 — This may be partly due to historical reasons. The physical conditions of textile factories, which were established as an individual or shareholders enterprises, were mainly determined by size of enterprise. Therefore, the larger the firm, the more likely it is to have better physical conditions.

21 — Here the size of the firm seems to be a very crucial element. "Familism" and "Cooperation" are, among other slogans frequently used by top management.

22 — One important source of pressures the central management exercises upon local management is the fact that the factory produces commodities which are source for hard currency, and is, therefore, considered as one of the main achievements of Nasser's regime.

23 — Such situation became clearly visible when the government shifted its economic dependency from the Western bloc countries to the Soviet Union.

24 — This is, perhaps, more applicable to foremen-workers relationship. The managers used, from time to time, to hold meetings with fore-

men and the most important white collar workers. This was to persuade them of the necessity of creating a "cooperative" relationship among different groups. Managers-workers meetings were, nevertheless, rare and incidental, because of managers' belief that foremen and white collar workers are capable, having a "humanistic" approach, to create encouragement and motivation among workers.

25 — In our "free" interviews with managers, it became quite clear that they were aware enough of the fact that representatives of workers have not yet the necessary qualification to share in the decision-making process. Representatives of workers, on the other hand, did express feelings of incompetence to participate fully in discussing some organizational problems such as innovation and recruitment.

26 — The explanation that managers gave to this situation was that workers tend to fix their habits once they get used to it. This explanation was supported by our statistical evidence which shows a significant positive correlation between the age of workers and their ability to cope quickly with technological changes.

ديناميات التنظيم

دراسة مقارنة بين تنظيمين صناعيين مصريين

د. السيد محمد الحسيني

تهدف الدراسة الى التعرف على الديناميات التنظيمية في مصنعين مصريين متباينين ، حيث تجد تأكيدا لدور كل من الصراع والتغيير وعلاقات القوة . اما أدوات جمع البيانات فكانت الملاحظة بالمشاركة ، وتحليل الوثائق والملفات، واجراء المقابلات الحرة والاستبيان . وتمثل النتائج الامبيريقية لهذه الدراسة اضافة للتراث العلمي الاجتماعي النامي الذي يتناول التنظيمات على اختلاف انواعها في مجتمعات مختلفة وفترات زمنية متباينة . أما تحليل النتائج فقد تم في ضوء التغيرات الاجتماعية ـــ الاقتصادية الواسعة النطاق التي تعرضت لها مصر خلال العقود الاخيرة . وفضلا عن ذلك حاولت الدراسة الافادة من منهج دراسة الحالة بما يتيحه من عمق وثراء ، والمنهج المقارن بما يتيحه من قدرة على التعميم والتوصل الى احكام واستنتاجات عامة .

ولقد أوضحت النتائج أن الديناميات التنظيمية في كلا المصنعين تتأثر ببعض الظروف البنائية الخاصة (داخلية وخارجية) ، كما تتأثر ببعض التطورات التاريخية . وبدا ذلك واضحا بالنسبة للمتغيرات الثمان التي تناولتها الدراسة في كل من المصنعين (الضبط ، والاتصال ، والتوازن ، والتكامل ، والصراع ، والتغير ، والاهداف ، والمعوقات) . ففي المصنع القديم ـــ الذي يمارس صناعة تقليدية ـــ اتضح أن ديناميات كان تمرتبطة أوثق الارتباط بتغير نمط ملكيته وما ترتب على ذلك من غموض في المعايير ، وعدم استقرار خطوط السلطة ، وعدم التأكد من فائدة الممارسات الديمقراطية . وفي المصنع الحديث ـــ الذي يمارس صناعة حديثة ـــ اتضح ان ديناميات كانت تتحدد بفعل عوامل خارجية (مجتمعة وثقافية وايديولوجية) فضلا عن عوامل تنظيمية ادارية اخرى تتمثل في تبعيته لادارة اقليمية ، فلقد نشأ هذا المصنع في اطار خطط التنمية الاقتصادية التي نفذتها مصر خلال الخمسينات ، ومن ثم كان يعد نموذجا من نماذج التحديث في المجال الاقتصادي . بيد ان

ديناميات هذا التنظيم قد خضعت لبعض الضغوط الاقتصادية (مسألة توفير العملات الاجنبية) وكذلك الضغوط السياسية الناجمة عن تحول مصر من الاعتماد على دول الكتلة الغربية الى دول الكتلة الشرقيـــــة في منتصف الخمسينات . ولقد بدا ذلك بوضوح في دراستنا للمتغيرات الثمان السالفة الذكر .

ولا شك أن هذه النتائج تعكس لنا كيف يمارس تنظيمان صناعيان وظائفهما في ظل ظروف اجتماعية وسياسية واقتصادية تختلف عن تلك التي تمارس في ظلها التنظيمات الغربية وظائفها . كما أوضحت الدراسة أن القضايا الكلاسيكية التي أثارها ماركس وفيبر وميشيلز يمكن ان تنطوي على فائدة في دراسة التنظيمات الحديثة ، وان استخدام المناهج والادوات المختلفة والربط بينها في دراسة التنظيم يساعدنا على فهمه فهما أعمق وافضل .